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he grows more and more proficient in the economic skills he began to acquire in childhood and better versed in the details of his culture. By the time he is 20 or so he knows most of what is known to his people about farming and animal husbandry, hunting and fishing, and building. He is wholly imbued with the values of his culture and has a good working knowledge of its institutions and customs. It is enough to enable him to play his part as a young man in the life of his community, but there is still much to learn which only years of experience and responsibility will give him. He is, however, an active if unimportant participant in corporate activities of the lineage and clan, and in the management of family affairs, with a right to his own opinions. In step with his growing social maturity a boy's field of social relations increases in range and in depth. His father's authority begins to loom larger, but at the same time his father's responsibilities on his behalf also increase and his own self-differentiation advances; and a theme that was of minor effect in their relationship hitherto comes into prominence. This is the principle of reciprocity.

During this period the identification of father and son is greatly deepened. It grows out of the intimacies and co-operation of everyday life. As they work side by side on the farm the father teaches his son farming skills and lore. When he performs a sacrifice at home his son is his assistant, learning from him how to carry out such rites, and what doctrines and beliefs lie behind them. In such situations he learns the names of his ancestors and begins to understand the structure of the lineage system and where he fits into it. He makes the acquaintance of matrilateral and sororal kin who come to take part in rites of this sort. The division between the men of the lineage and the women of the lineage, and the distinction between the father's side of the family and the mother's side become of direct practical relevance to him. Sometimes a man will call his adolescent and adult sons to him and tell them various things they ought to know in case he gets ill or dies. He tells them about his farms and other property, about his debts and those who owe him debts, and, a most important matter, about his ancestor and medicine shrines. In doing this he is, in effect, telling them what he knows of the history and traditions of his lineage and clan. These are matters which a man does not speak about to his daughters or wives. If they learn of them it is only incidentally, through listening to the conversation of the men. Daughters and wives are present at domestic sacrifices to ancestor spirits, but only sons are allowed to share in the cult of a man's private medicine shrines. Most important of all is the responsible

sown farms or from the ripening grain; a lad of 7 or 8 can be trusted to take care of sheep (*dɔl pihi*); older boys, up to the age of 14 or 15, are cattle herds (*hiem nigi*) and already help with the hoeing; after the age of pubescence a boy works on the farm side by side with the men—he farms (*u hɔɔrome*). These phases are also used to date events, often in conjunction with the physiological criterion.

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part an adolescent begins to play in the household economy. His work becomes an essential contribution to its welfare and hence he has a voice in its management.

A man who grew up under his own father's direct tutelage and learnt the arts of life from him in this way is said to be one who 'reached' (*paa*) —that is, knew in person—his father. Tallensi perceive that this is a mechanism of primary importance not only for maintaining the cohesion of the family and the lineage, but also for the transmission of their culture to their offspring. A man quoting precedents from the past for instance, in support of a claim to a debt or to a right to succeed to a particular office, bases his argument on the statement, 'I reached my father and saw such and such things', or, 'I reached my father and he told me this or that'. A man well versed in the details of the social structure, of ceremonial activities, or of economic lore, or in the finer points of etiquette, morals, traditions, and beliefs, says proudly, in explanation of his knowledge, 'Did I not reach my father?'; and a common excuse offered for ignorance is that the person concerned 'did not reach his father'.

The identification of father and son becomes of considerable social importance at this stage and henceforth. Thus it is a very common thing for youths of 18 and upwards to represent their fathers in jural and ceremonial affairs that do not demand their fathers' personal presence. If a man is asked by a clansman to act as intermediary (*poɣasama*) in a marriage transaction, he will often send his son as his deputy. And if the intermediary chosen is a young lad, his father will act for him. So also a man sends his sons with the customary gifts he is obliged to contribute to his father-in-law's or mother-in-law's funeral. Old men always delegate their sons to act for them in political matters and often in jural affairs. In disputes about wives it is a common thing to see a man's son coming to the tribunal as his father's representative to answer for the actions of the brother whom he accompanies. In jural and ceremonial situations the identification of father and son is coextensive with the range of recognized generation differences within the inner lineage.

We have previously remarked that the identification of father and son is a fundamental element in the structure of the lineage. It is also, and more significantly from our present point of view, a fundamental feature of the normal personal relations of father and son. This is seen most simply in the affection and devotion so often found between father and son and in the strength of the sentiments and religious values associated with the father's original home.

The relationship of mother and son also changes during this phase, but again there is no abrupt break. As a boy approaches manhood he becomes more and more absorbed in the activities and interests of men and sees less of his mother in everyday intercourse. But his affec-

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tion for her remains. He still helps her to cultivate her ground-nut plot, if he has no younger brothers to take this on, and assists her in other ways. Later on, when he marries, his intimacy with his mother will be revived. It is to her *dug* that he brings his wife and in her care that he places the girl.

A girl grows away from her father as she approaches puberty. This is not due to physiological taboos, for there are none connected with a girl's puberty or with menstruation in general. There are no ceremonies to mark a girl's attainment of physiological maturity, nor is there any break in her affective relations with her parents. The only significant break in the steady process of social maturation for a girl is her first marriage. Her growing away from her father is due to the sexual division of labour and the corresponding division of interests in the family. Though there is no barrier to ordinary social intercourse between the sexes in a domestic family, there is the separation of interests and activities that we have mentioned before, and adolescent boys and girls are caught up in it.

A girl of 13 or 14 years and over does not run to her father and cuddle up to him as her 6- or 7-year-old sister might do. She is with her mother and the other women most of the day assisting with the more arduous domestic tasks. She helps to clean the house, to fetch water and collect shea fruit or firewood, to grind the millet, to cook, and to care for the younger children. At harvest time, or when they are beating the floors of their rooms, she does a full day's work with the other women. She is already adept in all these feminine skills and is well versed in all the gossip of the women. A girl of 12 or 13 can be left in charge of the house for a day or two while her mother is away. She goes to market by herself to buy or sell things for her mother; and also, a more important consideration for her personally, to display her charms and flirt with the young men. She accompanies older girls on firewood parties or when they go to dance at funerals.

When a girl approaches puberty her mind is set upon marriage. Tallensi estimate a girl's stage of development before marriage by the appearance of her breasts. Leaving aside betrothal of a girl in childhood, which does not require her consent, a girl is not considered to be mature enough for serious courtship until her breasts are formed (*u biiha n-yi*). She is then called a maiden (*pɔɣasarət*). Before that stage, when her breasts are budding (*u biiha m-pukət*), suitors may already be coming to her or soliciting her parents. A girl may be married before she menstruates (*lu sie*), though it is not considered seemly for her husband to sleep with her until she is capable of child-bearing. When her suitors come to her, probably the only person who knows which of them she likes best is her mother; and if she and her lover decide to elope her mother may help them. As we know, the bonds of affection between mother and daughter remain as strong as ever after the latter's marriage

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593 and are kept alive by frequent interchange of visits and of gifts. Thus, in the shea fruit season it is a common sight to see a young woman 882 carrying a basket of shea nuts to her mother or fetching one from her 883 mother. Even if a girl marries someone her mother dislikes, this seldom estranges them. If a woman with a young child has to go away for a few days and her mother is near, she usually choose to leave the child with her mother rather than with a co-wife. Thus during pubescence a girl's intimacy and identification with her mother deepens both in terms of her social personality and on the affective level. This is the genetic basis in behaviour and sentiment of the social tie conceptualized in the notion of *soog*.

It must not be thought, though, that a father's affection for his daughter fades away as she approaches marriageable age. Far from it. But it is inevitably biased by the expectation that she will sooner or later leave his household to marry, bear children for another clan, and cease to be a daily care and concern to him. Hence the saying that girl children are of no profit (*ka ŋoori*). Tale women are as proud as their brothers of their paternal ancestry. As we know, they never lose their bonds with their lineage kin; but they come, in time, to identify themselves primarily with their husbands' interests and not with their fathers'. Her divided interests and sentiments bring it about that when a girl reaches womanhood the element of antagonism in her relations with her father may become prominent. I have never seen it overt in relation to the mother.

As we have already recorded, a father's authority over his daughter is most conspicuous in connexion with her marriage, and it is this that often creates conflict between them. This is due largely to the fact that self-differentiation for a woman, both in economic terms and in status, comes through marriage. In principle, as we know, a man can dispose of his daughter's hand as he pleases, resorting to corporal punishment, if need be, to force her to comply with his wishes. Principles and practice often coincide, but, as we have seen, a good father tempers his autocratic rights with consideration for his daughter's wishes and welfare, particularly if, as is frequent, she is supported by her mother.

593 Usually, however, a man has much affection for a married daughter, and a woman, particularly in the early years of marriage, often remains greatly attached to her father. For instance, Tɔŋ-Yikpɛmdaan, perhaps because he had lost most of his children, was greatly attached to his two married daughters. When one of them was attacked by a mysterious lingering illness he himself went to fetch her home and insisted that she should stay with her mother until she became well again. But a man's attachment to his sons is very much greater as a rule. A man may be greatly distressed at the death of a young married daughter, but it is as nothing compared with his grief over the death of a young adult son. And this applies to women too, though they suffer great grief at the death of a married daughter.

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These affective divergencies spring from the different social relations of father and son on the one hand, and father and daughter on the other. Though a woman's ties with her paternal family are never severed, a man's jural responsibilities for his daughter cease with her marriage. He never loses the moral and religious authority of a father, however, or the corresponding ritual responsibilities for her. His curse is as potent as ever. The shrine of her spirit guardian is in his keeping and he sacrifices to it on her behalf when her husband requests him to do so. His chief ritual responsibility arises if she is persecuted by an evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*). It is his duty to have the rites of exorcism performed so that she can bear children and fulfil satisfactorily her role as a wife. He is obliged to send ceremonial gifts to the funeral if she or his son-in-law dies; and he must 'fetch her funeral home (*die koor*)' and carry out the rites that bring her spirit back to her ancestral fold when she is dead. He has a very definite social and personal interest in her children too. When a woman bears her first child her husband must send immediately to tell her parents and they demonstrate their continued affection and concern for her and her children by sending her gifts of food and other necessaries as generous as their means allow. A poor man might send only a basket of unthreshed guinea corn or millet and a couple of guinea-fowls, while his wife sends some shea butter, vegetables, and firewood. A rich chief I knew, when his first-born daughter had her first baby sent a procession of his younger wives bearing an assortment of gifts, including a 25-lb. bag of salt, several baskets of grain, a sheep, six guinea-fowls, and various luxury articles. Throughout her life a woman has a right to substantial gifts of grain from her father's house at harvest time, and to a home if she is left homeless. Women make a special point of collecting these gifts of grain at harvest time whether they are in want or not. As Tanzoo, the wife of a well-to-do man with enough grain and to spare, said when she received a large basket of early millet from her brother, 'I should feel ashamed not to fetch this grain. My co-wives would scoff saying I have no brother, no father.' Thus it is a source of pride, a test of family solidarity and, most important, a recurrent demonstration of a right to share in the products of the patrimonial estate which they might have owned if they had been born men.[1] These duties that a man has towards his daughter are the nucleus of his relations with her children. They are socially prescribed and fall upon his heirs when he dies.

From Adolescence to Adulthood

Let us return to the relations of father and son during this phase of the latter's growth and study it more closely. The son is a member of

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 178.

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his father's household making an essential contribution to its economy by his labour and skill; he is his father's future heir; he will one day sacrifice to his father's spirit; above all, it is through him that his father's agnatic line is socially and physically perpetuated. And yet there is the cleavage of successive generations between them and the self-differentiation of the son which begins in childhood.

From adolescence onwards economic co-operation is the sheet anchor of the relationship between a youth and his father. The guiding principle is the rule that all those who work together to supply the needs of the household are entitled to a just share in the products of their common labour, and its corollary that the fruits of individual labour belong to the individual. But the working of this rule is complicated by the fact that the head of the household owns the land and 'owns' (that is, has authority over and responsibility for) his dependants. Thus a man 'owns' his son's labour and the products of it. Strictly speaking, a son cannot own property of any kind while his father is alive, and a father can dispose of a son's property as he pleases. By this rule a man does not even 'own' his children if his father is alive; and this means proxy father as well as own father. Tallensi assert this rule very emphatically, both in speech and in act, for they hold it to be the crucial sign of a father's authority. Though this authority arises automatically from the fact of begetting, its most concrete expression is found in the economic relations of father and son. When I asked the Chief of Tongo how many cattle he had he replied soberly that he had none; all his cattle belonged to his old father Nakyɛna'ab. Though, in practice, Nakyɛna'ab will not forbid the chief from doing what he pleases with these cattle, the chief never disposes of a cow, either in ritual or by sale or in jural transactions such as the payment of bride-price, without telling his father and obtaining the old man's formal consent.

The Tallensi regard the economic relations, the jural relations, and the moral and ritual relations of father and son as different aspects of the same thing. Each of these categories of relations has a binding force on the other categories. A man 'owns' his son because he begot him; but he sometimes says that he has authority over his son because the latter is dependent on him and that he has responsibilities for his son because the latter works for him. In the same way a son must work for his father as an obligation of filial piety; but his work is also the return he makes for his father's economic support and for the ritual and jural responsibility his father bears on his behalf. Just which factor is emphasized depends on the particular situation. The different elements of this configuration are linked together by the principle of reciprocity. Its essence is the idea that duties imply equivalent rights for the *tarɔm*, the junior or inferior person, as well as for the *kpeem*, the senior or superior.

This configuration is not peculiar to the relations of own father and son. It is the general pattern prevailing between the head of a household

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

dawn. They might tell their parents where they are going, but would not be sent for to come home.

Numerous instances could be added to illustrate further the freedom allowed to children. Of the responsibility allotted to them in applying their skills and their appreciation of it, one good example may be quoted. I was chatting with a group of boys, aged about 7–11 years, at sunset one day, when Duunbil, the oldest of them, suddenly exclaimed, clasping his hands in a gesture expressing both amusement and consternation: 'Ma! I've forgotten to untie the goats; I'll get a whipping.' 'You'd better run,' one of the others advised, as he dashed away. His companions explained that he had pegged his father's goats out in the morning to graze and that it was his duty to bring them home again. Goats cannot be left out all night lest hyenas catch them. A few days later I met Duunbil again and he told me, with a grin, that he had not managed to bring the goats in till after dark, but that he had been let off with a mild beating.

Children and adolescents share economic tasks in accordance with their skill and maturity, and they have a strong sense of the rights to which they are entitled in consequence. An adolescent has the right to be adequately fed and supported by his or her parents in return for co-operation in agricultural or domestic work. I have known of youths running away from home when they considered themselves to be badly treated in these respects. Children expect to have their services acknowledged in a similar way. Yindol, aged about 11, an intelligent and enterprising lad, was already giving his father valuable assistance, both in the care of live stock and in farming. When the great dances came round, Yindol wanted a new loin cloth. His father refused to buy him one, whereupon Yindol went on strike, neglected the chickens, the donkeys, the goats and refused to go to the bush farm even after a beating. In the end his father had to yield. *Bii la mar buurt*—'The boy has justice on his side'—he said, when he told me the story.

A similar incident occurred with a man who supplied us with milk for a short while. Money is scarce in Taleland and 2*s.* 6*d.* a month is an enviable addition to family resources. Yet one day he came to tell me apologetically that he could no longer sell me milk. Why? His small son, whose job it was to herd the cow, had rebelled. He